

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 6077

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK

SUBJ: DISCUSSION OF AFGHAN-PAK RELATIONS WITH

DAOUD, MAIM AND ABDULLAH

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR BYROADE'S VISIT TO KABUL HAS PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LENGTHY DISCUSSION ON PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS WITH PRESIDENT DAOUD, HIS BROTHER NAIM, AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDULLAH. ALTHOUGH OUR AFGHAN INTERLOCUTORS SAID ESSENTIALLY NOTHING NEW ON THIS SUBJECT, BYROADE ATTEMPTED TO GIVE THEM A SOMEWHAT MORE REALISTIC PICUTRE OF BHUTTO AND HIS POLICIES AND URGED BETTER COMMUNICATION AND INTELLIGENCE.

1. EVENING SEPTEMBER 22 AT A SMALL DINNER AT MY HOUSE, VISITING AMBASSADOR BYROADE FROM ISLAMABAD AND I ENGAGED PRESIDENT DAOUD'S BROTHER NAIM AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDULLAH IN A CONVERSTION ON PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS WHICH LASTED OVER TWO HOURS. BEFORE AND DURING DINNER ABDULLAH DID MUCH OF THE TALKING, BUT AFTER DINNER THE DIALOGUE WAS ALMOST ENTIRELY BETWEEN BYROADE AND NAIM. MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 23 BYROADE AND I MET FOR HALF AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT DAOUD AND ABOUT HALF THE TIME WAS SPENT DISCUSSING PAK-AFGHAN PROBLEMS. THESE CONVERSTATIONS WERE HELD IN A MOST CORDIAL
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AND FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE WITH DAOUD AND NAIM GREETING BYROADE,

WHO WAS AMBASSADOR HERE 1959-62, AS AN OLD FRIEND. BYROADE'S CREDENTIALS AS A FRIEND OF AFGHANISTAN AS WELL AS AN EXPERIENCED AND ABLE DIPLOMAT IN THIS AREA ENABLED HIM TO SPEAK WITH CONSIDERABLE FRANKNESS WITHOUT FEAR OF GIVING OFFENSE.

2. BYROADE STRESSED TO DAOUD AND NAIM THE INABILITY OF AN ELECTED LEADER SUCH AS BHUTTO TO NEGOTIATE WITH A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT ABOUT TWO OF HIS COUNTRY'S PROVINCES. HE ALSO DESCRIBED BHUTTO'S PERSONALITY AND OUTLOOK, STRESSING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC BHUTTO AND THE FACT THAT BHUTTO IN POWER HAS NATURED. IN REFERRING TO THE WAR OF WORDS THAT CONTINUES ON THE TWO COUNTRIES' RADIOS, BYROADE EMPHASIZED TO NAIM THE DANGER OF HAVING SUCH PROPAGANDA ESCALATE INTO MORE SERIOUS CONFRONTATION. HE ALSO REFERRED, IN TALKING TO NAIM, TO VIRULENT AND PERSONAL ATTACKS ON BHUTTO AND HIS GOVERNMENT BY AFGHAN RADIO AND SOME AFGHAN OFFICIALS, NOTABLY THE AFGHAN CONSUL IN KARACHI. HE ALSO SAID TO NAIM THAT THE PAKS SEEM SINCERELY TO BELIEVE THAT THE AFGHANS ARE TRAINING GUERRILLAS IN THE TRIBAL AREAS. TO BOTH DAOUD AND NAIM BYROADE URGED THAT COMMUNICATIONS CHANNELS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS BE MAINTAINED AT THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL, EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT AFGHANISTAN WOULD APPOINT A NEW AMBASSADOR TO ISLAMABAD. BYROADE URGED NAIM TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT AFGHAN INTELLIGENCE ON PAKISTAN IS ACCURATE.

3. DAOUD DID NOT APPEAR TO WISH TO SPEND TOO MUCH TIME DISCUSSING THIS SUBJECT WITH BYROADE, PERHAPS BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON THE PREVIOUS EVENING'S DISCUSSIONS AND/OR BY AMBASSADOR POPAL, WHOSE ASSIGNMENT IN ISLAMABAD HAS JUST ENDED AND WHO, ABDULLAH TELLS US, SAW BHUTTO BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE. DAOUD SAID THAT AS A FRIEND OF BOTH COUNTRIES HE HOPES THE US CAN HELP RESOLVE THE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THEM. HE SAID AFGHANISTAN WANTS PEACE, NEGOTIATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS. HE NODDED WHEN BYROADE URGED THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW AMBASSADOR TO ISLAMABAD. HE SAID THAT THE AGREED THAT POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY HAVE A MATURING EFFECT.

4. NAIM AND ABDULLAH BOTH SEVERAL TIMES STRESSED AFGHANISTAN'S CONFIDENTIAL

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PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. ABDULLAH WAS CONSISTENTLY HARsher AND MORE PERSONAL THAN NAIM IN HIS ATTACKS ON PAKISTAN'S POLICIES AND LEADERS. THE LATTER RATHER POINTEDLY TWICE DURING THE EVENING DISASSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM REMARKS OF ABDULLAH WITH REMARK THAT HE COULD FREELY DO SO NOW THAT HE OCCUPIED NO OFFICIAL POSITION. BUT BOTH ABDULLAH AND NAIM SEVERAL TIMES STATE THAT AFGHANISTAN DOES NOT WANT PAKISTAN TO DISINTEGRATE AND WILL NOT UNDERTAKE AN ADVENTURIST POLICY. THEY RIDICULED

PAK CHARGES THAT AFGHANISTAN IS TRAINING GUERILLAS. THEY SAID THAT THE AFGHAN OBJECTIVE IS FOR BHUTTO TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH THE PUSHTUNS AND BALUCHIS WHICH WOULD BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PAKISTAN'S CONSTITUTION. ONCE THAT SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, THEY SAID, OTHER PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES CAN AND MUST BE RESOLVED BECAUSE THE TWO COUNTRIES NEED EACH OTHER. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, NO AFGHAN LEADER CAN IGNORE THE FATE OF THE PUSHTUN AND BALUCHI PEOPLE. AS FAR AS THEIR VIEW OF PAKISTAN IS CONCERNED, THEY CLEARLY INDICATED A CONTINUING BELIEF THAT THE PAKISTANIS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THREE ATTEMPTED COUPS AGAINST THE DAOUD REGIME AND HAVE ENGAGED IN AERIAL SURVEILLANCE OF AFGHAN TERRITORY. THEY SHOW NO UNDERSTANDING OF BHUTTO'S PROBLEMS OR OBJECTIVES IN THE NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN AND SEEM TO BELIEVE HE IS CARRYING OUT A REPRESSIVE POLICY TO BENEFIT HIS PERSONAL POWER POSITION.

4. AT ONE POINT IN THE CONVERSATION NAIM COMMENTED INTERESTINGLY THAT A CONTINUATION OF THIS DISPUTE BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN POSES DANGERS TO THE INTERNAL STABILITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

6. COMMENT: NEITHER DAOUD, NAIM NOR ABDULLAH HAD ANY SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR US INVOLVEMENT IN THIS PROBLEM, AND BYROADE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS IN KABUL NEITHER AS A MESSENGER NOR AN INTERMEDIARY OF ANY KIND. INDEED IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE, AS BOTH OUR EMBASSIES HAVE PREVIOUSLY NOTED, HOW WE CAN BE HELPFUL IN THIS SITUATION. ON THE ONE HAND, THE AFGHANS SAY THEY WANT BHUTTO TO NEGOTIATE WITH PUSHTUN AND BALUCHI LEADERS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, AS BYROADE POINTED OUT TO NAIM, STIRRING UP THOSE LEADERS AGAINST BHUTTO. ON THE OTHER HAND, BHUTTO BELIEVES THAT THE MODERNIZATION OF THE BORDER AREAS OF PAKISTAN CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT A
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NEW STRUCTURE OF LEADERSHIP. BYROADE WAS, HOWEVER, ABLE IN THESE MEETINGS TO URGE RESTRAINT, BETTER COMMUNICATION AND IMPROVED INTELLIGENCE. HE WAS ALSO ABLE TO DESCRIBE TO THE AFGHAN LEADERS SOME ASPECTS OF PRESENT-DAY PAKISTAN WHICH THEY PROBABLY DO NOT HEAR FROM THEIR SOURCES.

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